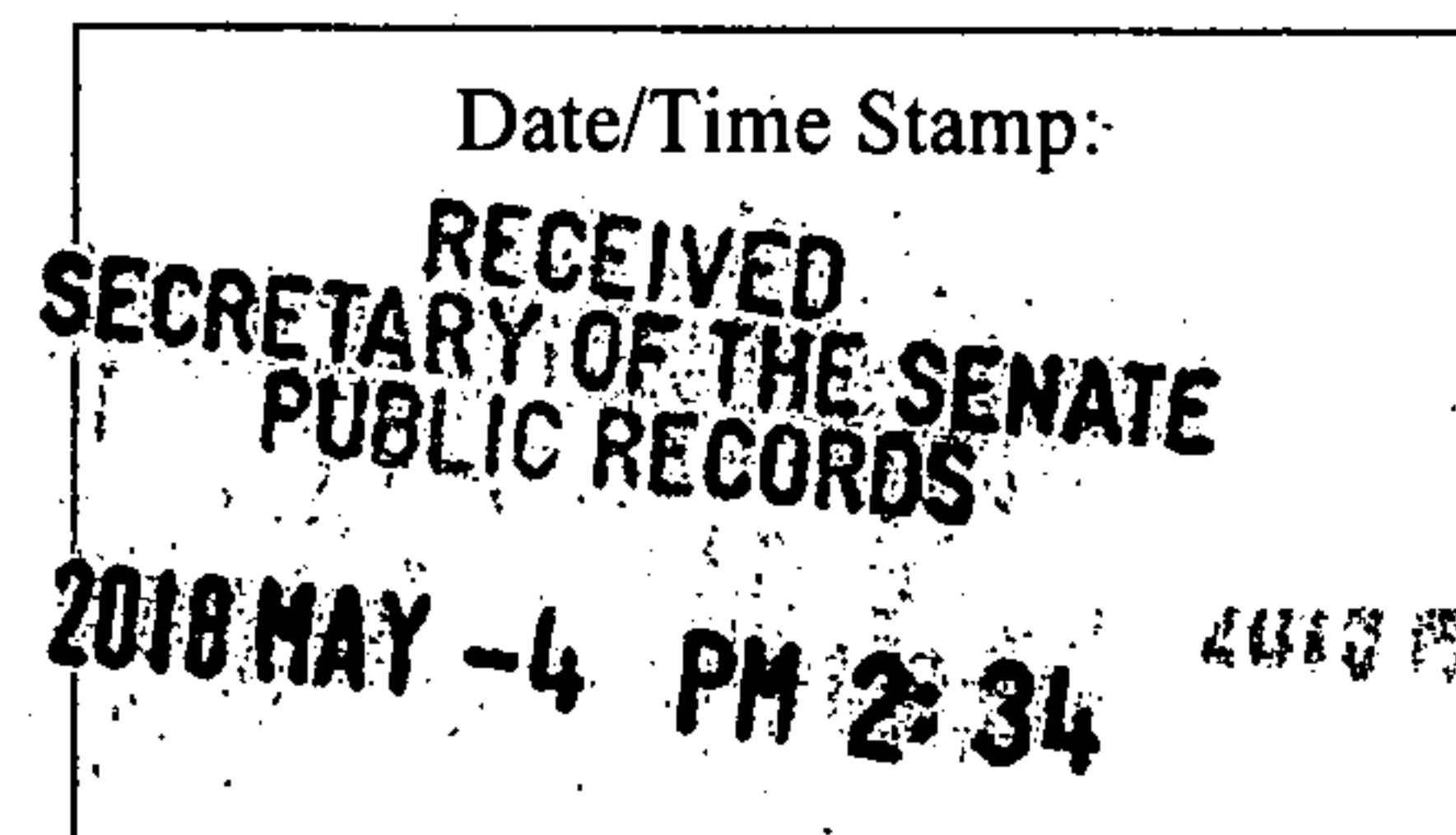


Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the **Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.**



In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I make the following disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me. I also certify that I have attached:

- ☒ The **original** *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* (Form RE-1), **AND**
☒ A **copy** of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form* with all attachments (itinerary, invitee list, etc.)

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The Aspen Institute Inc. (Socrates Program)

Travel date(s): April 20 to April 22, 2018

Name of accompanying family member (if any): N/A

Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Employee:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	\$72.79	\$234.00	\$166.89	\$444.36 of Conference Services
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable):

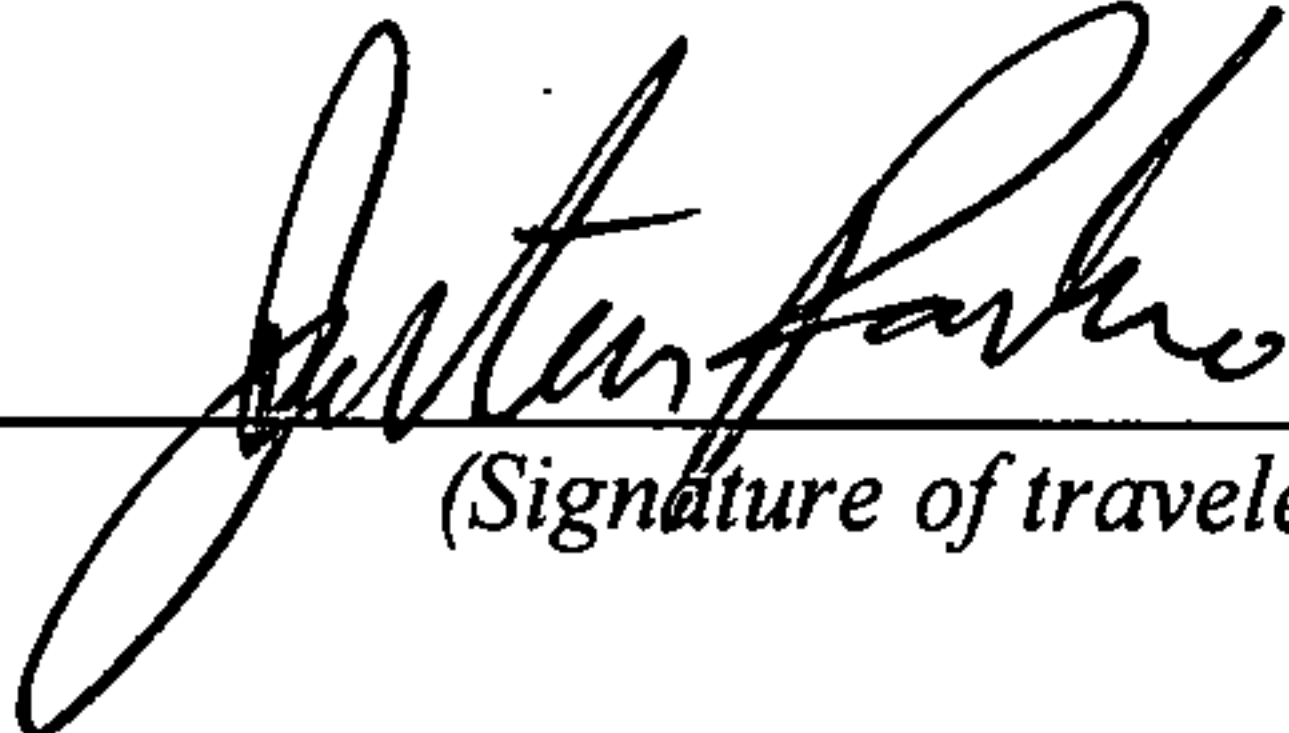
	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.): Participated in a Socrates Seminare at the Aspen Insitute's Wye River Campus in

Quennstown, Maryland.

5/4/18
(Date)

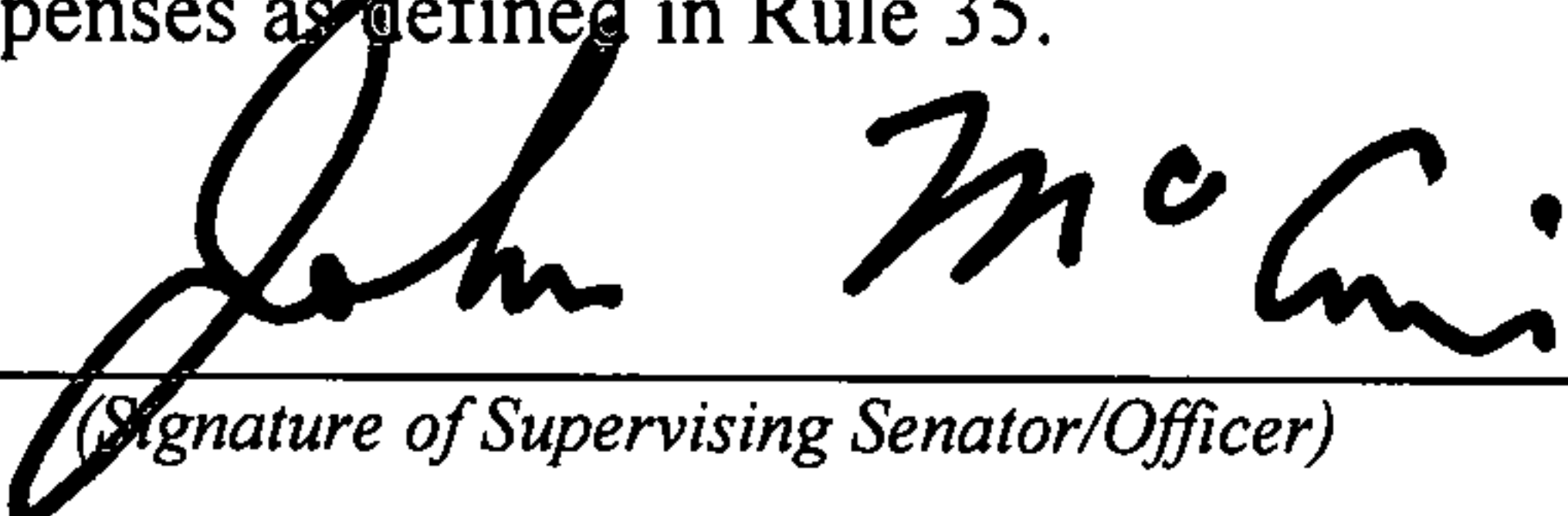
Jonathan Pacheco
(Printed name of traveler)


(Signature of traveler)

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING MEMBER/OFFICER:

I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

5/4/18
(Date)


(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

Date/Time Stamp:

EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Pre-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the **Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220**. Incomplete and late travel submissions will **not** be considered or approved. This form **must** be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Name of Traveler: Jonathan Pacheco

Employing Office/Committee: Office Of Senator McCain

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program)

Travel date(s): April 20-22, 2018

*Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you **must** notify the Committee.*

Destination(s): Queenstown, MD

Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:

As one of Senator McCain's legislative correspondents, I am responsible for advising the Senator on legislation. My duties require me to understand the role of Congress and collaborate with Congressional colleagues in a bipartisan way. This course will allow me to learn about the foundations of Congress and its role in the nation's governance, and how to be an effective bipartisan leader.

Name of accompanying family member (if any): _____

Relationship to Employee: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge:

4/16/18
(Date)


(Signature of Employee)

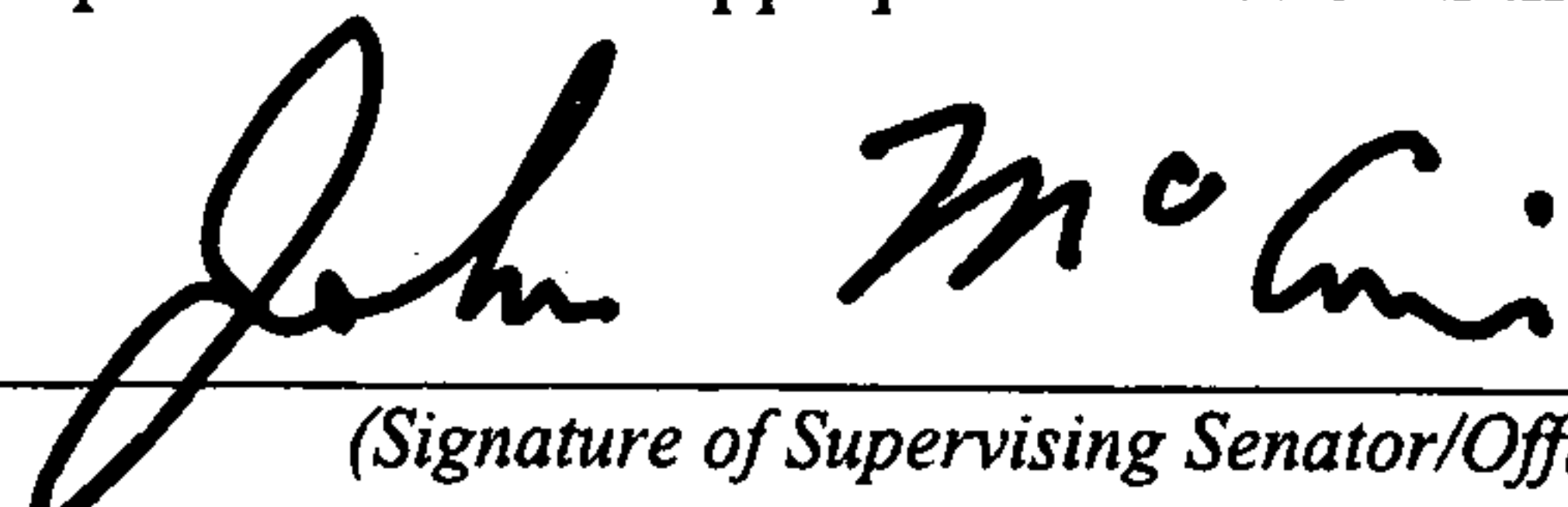
TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain):

I, Senator John McCain hereby authorize Jonathan Pacheco
(Print Senator's/Officer's Name) (Print Traveler's Name)

an employee under my direct supervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to the event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her duties as a Senate employee or an officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for private gain.

I have also determined that the attendance of the employee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate. (signify "yes" by checking box) ☐

4/16/18
(Date)


(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)



Cordell Carter, II

Executive Director

Socrates Program

Mr. Jonathan Pacheco
Office of Senator John McCain
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Pacheco:

I would like to invite you to participate in a seminar program as a part of the Emerging Governance Leaders Seminar Series. This seminar, "Leadership and the Role of Congress," is designed for the educational benefit of a bipartisan, bicameral group of congressional staff focusing on the foundations of Congress and its role in the nation's governance. The seminar will be held at the Aspen Institute Wye Campus located in Queenstown, Maryland from April 20-22, 2018.

We have assembled two outstanding moderators to lead the seminar: Ron Christie, former policy advisor to Vice President Cheney and Special Assistant to President George W. Bush, and Basil Smikle, a Senior Advisor and former Executive Director of the New York State Democratic Party. Seminar discussions are text-based, all reflecting on the role of governance, leadership, and "the good society."

This seminar is designed for congressional staffers, by invitation only. In a diverse country like the U.S., it is imperative that future governance leaders are being nurtured, trained and mentored to fill and succeed in senior congressional staff roles. The Emerging Governance Leaders series convenes an inclusive cohort of congressional staffers to engage in values-based discussion for personal and professional leadership development. We will provide you with the required forms and documentation for filing with the House/Senate Ethics Committee. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

Participants should plan to depart from Capitol Hill at 5:00 p.m. on Friday, April 20th and the program will end at 1:00 p.m. Sunday, April 22nd. The Socrates Program will provide a shuttle from Capitol Hill to Wye on Friday, and returning on Sunday. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the seminar. Your lodging and meals will be paid by the Aspen Institute Socrates Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call Socrates Program Deputy Director Luis Renta at 202-736-3550. I hope you will be able to join us for this exciting seminar.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Cordell Carter, II
Executive Director, Socrates Program

2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037-1133

PH 202.721.5589

socrates@aspeninstitute.org

www.aspeninstitute.org

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program)
2. Description of the trip: The Aspen Institute (Socrates Program) is sponsoring a Socrates seminar for junior congressional staff to discuss the role of Congress in our democracy.
3. Dates of travel: April 20-22, 2018
4. Place of travel: Queenstown, MD
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Please see attached roster.
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
 - ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
 - OR-
 - ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.

-AND-

☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
 - ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
 - AND-
 - ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

- ☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **one** overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

-OR-

- ☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **two** overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

-OR-

- ☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

The Aspen Institute's Socrates Program is the sole sponsor of this seminar and is solely responsible for the development and execution of this convening. (See continued response.)

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The Aspen Institute is an educational and policy studies non-partisan, non-profit organization whose mission is to foster leadership based on enduring values and provide a non-partisan forum for the exchange of ideas. (See continued response.)

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

The Aspen Institute has a nearly forty year history of conducting non-partisan educational forums, which often include Members of Congress and congressional staff. The Socrates Program has been conducting seminars - Senate Socrates - for eight years.

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15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

The Aspen Institute organizes numerous educational activities, including briefings, roundtables, forums and conferences for a diverse range of attendees including federal and state policymakers, business and organization leaders, members of the press and the general public. (See continued response.)

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	\$78.00 for bus	\$234.00 for two nights (\$117.00 per night)	\$172.50	\$336.00 conference room fees (includes meeting facilities, set up/take down, cleaning), reading copyrights, and moderator fee

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

B) The trip is organized specifically with regard to Congressional staff participation in order to support their leadership and professional development.

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

The location is close to Washington, DC for easy staff and moderator travel.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Wye River Conference Center, 600 Aspen Drive, Queenstown, MD 21658

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The conference center has sufficient meeting space and lodging to support off-the-record, non-partisan exchanges of ideas and professional learning. The Aspen Institute owns the Wye River Conference Center property.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Rooms are \$117/day, which reflects the per diem limit.

Meals are \$69.00/day, which reflects the per diem limit.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Transportation will be provided by bus to and from the conference center.

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: Elliot Gerson

Name and Title: Elliot Gerson, Executive Vice President, Policy & Public Programs

Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute

Address: 2300 N Street NW, Washington, DC 20037

Telephone Number: 202-736-5859

Fax Number: 202-467-0790

E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org



Emerging Governance Leaders Seminar *Leadership & the Role of Congress*

Moderators: Basil Smikle and Ron Christie

Seminar Weekend Schedule

April 20-22, 2018

Aspen Institute Wye River Campus

Queenstown, Maryland

Seminar Location: Houghton House (HH)

Friday, April 20th

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 5:00 p.m. | Shuttle departure from Capitol Hill |
| 6:45 p.m. | Shuttles arrives at Aspen Institute Wye River Campus |
| 7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. | Seminar Check-In & Registration
<i>Houghton House</i> |
| 8:00 p.m. – 9:30 p.m. | Socrates Opening Dinner and Program
“Responsible Governance and Your Role in Congress”
A conversation addressing norms of governance, hyper-partisanship, political polarization, and the experiences of Congressional staffers. Featuring Betsy Wright Hawkings , Democracy Fund Governance Initiative Program Director, and Jean Parvin Bordewich , Hewlett Foundation Madison Initiative Program Officer.
Moderated by Cordell Carter , Socrates Program Director
<i>Houghton House Dining Room</i> |

Saturday, April 21st

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 7:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m. | Breakfast
<i>Houghton House Dining Room</i> |
| 9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. | Seminar Session I: Learning to Lead
<i>Seminar discussion based on the following texts:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Aristotle, <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>, selection• Mencius, <i>Human Nature</i>, selection• Simone de Beauvoir, <i>The Second Sex</i>, selections |

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
SOCRATES | PROGRAM

- Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham City Jail"
- Chimamanda Adichie, "The Danger of a Single Story"

Houghton House Main Conference Room

10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.

Morning Break

Houghton House Break Room

12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.

Working Lunch with Discussion of Seminar Session I

Conversation will consider the tenets of leadership established during session I, and how classic and contemporary texts consider effective leadership.

Houghton House Dining Room

1:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Seminar Session II: Foundations in Systems of Governance

Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

- Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, Chapters 1-7
- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapters 1, 8, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23
- Ursula K. Le Guin, "The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas," 1973
- John Gramlich, "How Countries Around the World View Democracy, Military Rule and Other Political Systems," Pew Research, October 20, 2017
- "The Common Law and Civil Law Traditions," *The Robbins Religious and Civil Law Collection*, University of California at Berkley
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835, selection
- Federalist Paper No. 10, "The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection," 1787
- Federalist Paper No. 51, "The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments," 1788
- Anti-Federalist No. 3, "New Constitution Creates a National Government; Will Not Abate Foreign Influence; Dangers of Civil War and Despotism," 1787-1790
- Federalist Paper No. 69, "The Real Character of the Executive," 1788
- Federalist Paper No. 73, "The Provision for the Support of the Executive, and the Veto Power," 1788

Houghton House Main Conference Room

2:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.

Afternoon Break

Houghton House Break Room

4:30 p.m. – 6:30 p.m.

Historical Tour of Wye

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
SOCRATES PROGRAM

The Aspen Institute Wye campus is a site imbued with historical moments in American political discourse and policy decisions – from early days as the home of William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the third governor of Maryland, to more recent moments as the site for negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Authority resulting in the Wye River Memorandum. This historical tour will connect the history and discussions of the seminar to place and embody the rich history of American discourse and governing in Washington and beyond.

Wye Campus

7:00 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.

Working Dinner with Discussion of Seminar Session II

Conversation will consider the historical impact of the U.S. Constitution compared to established governance systems.

Houghton House Dining Room

8:45 p.m. – 10:00 p.m.

Fireside Chat

“Life & Lessons in Congress”

A conversation with **William Hoagland**, Bipartisan Policy Center Senior Vice President, , and **Joseph Minarik**, Committee for Economic Development Senior Vice president and Director of Research.

Moderated by **Cordell Carter**, Socrates Program Director

Houghton House Library

Sunday, April 22nd

7:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

Breakfast

Houghton House Dining Room

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Seminar Session III: The Role of Congress & Our American Democracy

Seminar discussion based on the following texts:

- U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 1
- U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 2
- Abigail Geiger and John Gramlich, “The Changing Face of Congress in 5 Charts,” Pew Research Center, February 2, 2017
- Emily Yankowitz, “Pacificus/Helvidius Letters,” Mount Vernon Digital Encyclopedia
- Alexander Hamilton, “Pacificus No. 1,” 1793
- James Madison, “Letters of Helvidius, No. 1,” 1793
- Chicago Tribune Editorial Board, “Downsize the Imperial Presidency,” *The Chicago Tribune*, November 15, 2016
- Joe McGinniss, *The Selling of the President 1968*, 1970, selection

Houghton House Main Conference Room



10:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.

Morning Break
Houghton House Break Room

12:00 p.m.

Check-out
Program concludes after Seminar Session III

12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.

Working Lunch with Discussion of Seminar Session III
 Conversation will consider the Articles 1 and 2 of the Constitution,
 and how foundations of the U.S. government inform and influence
 the role of Congress today.
Houghton House Dining Room

1:00 p.m.

Shuttle departs for Capitol Hill

Page 4 of 4

Recognized as a staunch advocate for public service and education equity, he is part of the next generation of thinkers and policy advocates. Basil was featured in the L.A. Times as “Harlem’s New Political Elite” and gained national attention for his reforms in education and government. A profile in the Wall Street Journal led to a feature in a New York Magazine cover story on the next generation of African American leaders. The New York Daily News called Basil a “fresh thinking...school reformer”. The New York Post “enthusiastically” said “New York needs such vibrant leadership”. As a senior aide to Hillary Rodham Clinton during her first campaign for Senate and later on her Senate staff. Mrs. Clinton called Basil a “key advisor and tremendous public servant...who makes sure all voices are heard” A life-long New Yorker and raised in the Bronx by Jamaican immigrants, Basil graduated with a Bachelor of Science from Cornell University in Industrial and Labor Relations and received a Master of Public Administration degree from Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs.

Ron Christie



Ron Christie, founder and President of Christie Strategies LLC, is a veteran senior advisor of both the White House and the Congress, brings years of government relations and media experience. Previously, Christie served as Vice President of Navigators Global LLC - a strategic consulting and communications firm. He previously served as Executive Vice President and Director of Global Government Affairs at Ruder Finn and Of Counsel at the Washington D.C. law firm Patton Boggs, LLP. From 2002 to 2004, he was Acting Director of USA Freedom Corps and special assistant to President George W. Bush. He began service at the White House in 2001 as deputy assistant to Vice President Cheney for domestic policy, advising the Vice President on policy initiatives in healthcare, budget, tax and other policy areas.

Prior to joining the Vice President's staff, he briefly served as counsel to U.S. Senator George Allen (R-VA). He previously served as a senior advisor to former House Budget Committee Chairman and current Ohio Governor John Kasich from 1992-1999.

Christie served as a Resident Fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University for the Fall 2011 term. He was appointed as an Adjunct Professor at the McCourt School of Public Policy at Georgetown University in 2014. He also teaches The Business of Lobbying at Georgetown's McDonough School of Business. He was appointed last year to the advisory board of the Georgetown University Institute of Politics. <http://bit.ly/1IXe68o>

Additionally he has also served as a Visiting Assistant Professor at Haverford College as well as an adjunct professor at The George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management and was a visiting assistant professor of Political Science at Haverford College in 2009 and 2011. He has also served as a guest lecturer at University of Virginia's Center for Politics.

His first book *Black in the White House* was published on January 3, 2006 by Thomas Nelson/Nelson Current Books. His next book, *Acting White: The Curious History of a Racial Slur*, was published by St. Martin's Press/Thomas Dunne Books on October 12, 2010.

Christie published his third book entitled *Blackwards: How Black Leadership is Returning America to the Days of Separate But Equal* (St. Martin's Press/Thomas Dunne Books) on September 4, 2012. This provocative title examines whether in the euphoria surrounding Barack Obama's historic election America ushered in a new "Post-Racial" era or whether black leaders worked against this goal by pursuing an agenda of separatism and special rights that harms, rather than brings us together as American citizens.

A frequent commentator on current political events, his recent op-ed in the New York Times may be found here. <http://nyti.ms/2cyi6I6>. A knowledgeable voice on American politics, Christie served as a political commentator for BBC Worldwide Television for their global 2012 election night coverage. He reprised this role to cover the 2014 midterm election coverage for BBC and will do so for the 2016 presidential election. He has appeared as a political/legal analyst on *The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer*, *On the Record with Greta Van Susteren*, *Real Time with Bill*

Maher, Lou Dobbs Tonight, Hardball with Chris Matthews, Fox News Sunday, Hannity, The O'Reilly Factor and the Tavis Smiley Show.

A native of Palo Alto, California, he received his B.A. from Haverford College and his J.D. from the George Washington University National Law Center. He serves as a member of the Board of Directors for the Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Washington D.C., The Prevent Cancer Foundation and the American Conservative Union.

SAG-AFTRA eligible as a background actor, you can catch Christie in the 2015 seasons of *House of Cards* and *VEEP*. He was commissioned as a member of the Honorable Order of Kentucky Colonels in 2011.